BULLETIN

OF THE

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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SEPTEMBER 1901

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NEW YORK
1901

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NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

VOL. V. SEPTEMBER, 1901. No. 9.

REPORT FOR AUGUST.

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT.

During the month of August there were received at the Library, by purchase, 925 volumes and 272 pamphlets; by gift, 555 volumes and 4,664 pamphlets; and by exchange, 327 volumes and 1,271 pamphlets.

There were catalogued 972 volumes and 1,147 pamphlets, for which purpose 5,874 cards and 686 slips for the printer were written.

The following table shows the number of readers, and the number of volumes consulted, in both the Astor and Lenox Branches of the Library, also the number of visitors to the Print Department at the Lenox, during the month:

	LENOX.	ASTOR.
No. of readers and visitors	2,693	8,525
No. of readers	1,754	8,525
No. of readers, desk applicants	678	7,111
No. of volumes consulted by applicants	3,565	29,358
Daily average	65	316
Number of visitors to Print Exhibit, etc.	1,247	

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.

The most popular books of the month were (in non-fiction): "Tribulations of a Princess," Dreyfus's "Five Years of My Life," and Flynt's "World of Graft"; (adult fiction) Churchill's "Crisis," Runkle's "Helmet of Navarre," and Croly's "Tarry Thou Till I Come"; (juvenile fiction) Drysdale's "Young Consul," Alger's "Ragged Dick," and Lang's "Red Fairy Book."

CIRCULATION STATISTICS.

Branches.	Circulation.		New Registrations.	Readers in Reading Room.		Volumes Accessioned
	Home Use.	Total.		Minors.	Total.	
Bond Street	10,732	10,981	172	783	2,657	113
Ottendorfer	14,933	15,491	193	1,194	3,287	107
Bruce	10,376	11,636	123	882	1,260	40
Jackson Square	9,797	10,710	129	279	1,728	43
Harlem	10,446	11,065	185	887	1,602	35
Muhlenberg	8,077	10,689	125	1,472	2,612	58
Bloomingdale	12,810	13,728	133	1,065	2,107	49
Riverside	4,391	5,404	48	1,395	2,355	58
Yorkville	12,380	12,991	181	285	611	30
34th Street	4,133	5,544	52	954	1,411	80
Chatham Square	9,847	10,042	148	75	195	91
St. Agnes	10,168	11,271	114	967	2,207	....
Travelling	29,014	29,014	....	....	....	195
Public School No. 30	63	63	2	....	117	....
Public School No. 33	56	56	8	297	309	....
Public School No. 90	337	337	41	920	1,486	....
Public School No. 160	241	436	53	3,708	3,983	156
	147,801	159,458	1,707	15,163	27,927	1,055

The most important gifts received during the month were 33 volumes and 39 pamphlets relating to Shakers and Shakerism, presented by A. G. Hollister, and 4 volumes and 1 pamphlet relating to community life, presented by the "Social Gospel."

Other important gifts were as follows: From the Secretary of State, Alabama, 8 volumes of Senate and House Journals; from Bengal, 5 volumes and 2 pamphlets of public documents; from the Borough of Bolton, England, 11 volumes and 39 pamphlets, Public Library Reports and other documents; from the Connecticut State Library, 6 volumes and 2 pamphlets; from the Bombay Presidency, 2 volumes and four pamphlets; from the Fürstliche Bibliothek, Bulgaria, 8 volumes and 63 pamphlets; from the Chicago Board of Education, 2 copies of the 46th annual report; from the Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections, 4 volumes and 1 pamphlet, being annual reports of the Board; from "The Commercial and Financial Chronicle," 126 volumes and 2,989 pamphlets, mostly railroad reports; from Worthington C. Ford, 37 almanacks; from S. A. Green, 44 volumes and 60 pamphlets, mostly public documents; from the Minister of Agriculture, Italy, 1 volume and 9 pamphlets; from the Library of Congress, 3 volumes, check lists of American newspapers, of periodicals, and of the Washington MSS.; from the Town Clerk, Liverpool, England, 8 volumes of Accounts of the Treasurer and Proceedings of the Council; from McGill University Library, 8 pamphlets of scientific publications; from the Mayor of Montgomery, Alabama, 5 volumes of city documents; and from the Wisconsin Geological Survey, 9 maps, 7 volumes and 2 pamphlets, relating to geological surveys.

LETTERS OF JAMES MONROE.

Part 2, 1808–1809.

A former selection from the letters of Monroe was printed in the *Bulletin* for February, 1900, Volume 4, Number 2. We are indebted to Mr. Worthington C. Ford for information that the three letters of Monroe there printed dated 1798 were probably addressed to J. Dawson; and that the letter of July 13, 1808, printed on pp. 56–61, was probably addressed to John Taylor or Tazewell. It is probable that the two letters here printed first were addressed to the same person.

To ———.

Abingdon, July 19. 1808

Dear Sir

This is the third letter which I have written you since I left home, & it will be I presume the last that I shall write before I arrive in Kentuckey. I have travelled rather more than 30. miles p^{r}. day without intermission. To-day I rest to recover strength to inable myself & my horses to perform the rest of the journey with more ease. I have borne the fatigue & heat perhaps better than I had a right to expect.

In my preceding letters I have made such remarks as occurrd to me on certain subjects, in the hope that they might afford some hints worthy attention. Having no copy of those letters, & but an imperfect memory of their contents, I cannot say whether I have advanc'd any thing, which further reflection would induce me to change, nor shall I be able to avoid in this (I fear) useless repetitions. Confiding entirely in the judgment of my friends, and in their disposition, while they take advantage of any useful suggestion to reject whatever they deem improper, I shall proceed to add something more on those subjects with the same view.

M^{r}. Nicholas's essay is the only document in my possession. It appears to have been written for the express purpose of attacking me for the signature of the British treaty, & may therefore be termed an essay in favor of M^{r}. M. agnst me. There is perhaps no impropriety in his acting that part (in a publick view) that is in his being such a partizan; but it is equally proper that his views sh^{d}. be shewn to the publick, & his writings be stripped of the merit or confidence belonging to a candid & impartial representative of the people giving an account of his conduct to them. I believe that the latter object had little weight in producing his essay: that the question of representation & constitutions came into view only as a pretext to the other object, & that if the latter sho^{d}. fail, we sho^{d}. hear no more of him in that character. You will observe that this gentleman brings into view one act only of my whole publick life, which he places in the most odious light, & puts me in it under the ban of Executive censure & denunciation. In this (whether intentionally or not on their part I will not say) he follows the example of those whose cause he espouses. In the trial of this issue all my other services are kept out of view, nor are any of the extenuating circumstances in this one adverted to. He has the indulgence in the spirit of all persecutors of church & state, to intimate that I have not a right to a fair trial even on this issue. The paper to which I allude is made

more particularly applicable to Mr. Rose & the British govt., who are charged with making efforts to impair the confidence of our people in their govt., but it is not a forc'd construction of its spirit, to apply it equally to the freedom of enquiry in the case alluded it, if indeed it is not so applied in direct terms by the writer.

My correspondence with the President would not prevent my placing my conduct, & the British treaty, in reply to this attack on just ground. It looks to another object, that of intentional injury on his part, on which I assure him that he has given me perfect satisfaction. I have answer'd to the govt. in my letter of July 28. last, the attack of the govt. on the treaty. Should any other attack be made on it by the govt., or the policy of its own course be asserted & maintain'd by unjust imputations to the treaty I shod. consider myself at perfect liberty to repell & refute them. My friends were not bound by what passed between the President & me, even within its confin'd limit. They respected the President's declarations because they respected him & believed them; or because they respected my feelings & wishes in what concern'd him: or because they thought that nothing was to be gained by acting on a disbelief of them. Had they been bound by that correspondence, & had it extended to every case between us, this essay, would completely absolve them, so far as respects a fair answer to it. It may merit consideration how far it may be proper, on my return, for me to invite the publick attention to that treaty and to other topicks connected with it, to do justice to my conduct in that transaction, in reply to this attack, especially if followed by Giles, as is presumeable; I mean not in respect to them or such men, but in respect to the opportunity afforded by them. They mean to advance their cause by their labors, and themselves also. They ought to be disappointed & punished for their turpitude. How is that to be done?

Not by a direct attack on the admn. or any of its measures, such as the mission of Mr. P, the embargo act, nor by meeting the admn. in the simple issue made up between us. My idea is that the committee shod. from a general view of my services, opportunities, & character, address the publick in my favor, & recommend the appointment, as furnishing the best hope of adjusting honorably our differences with foreign powers without war, or of supporting the war if necessary with suitable energy & decision. In the address it may be stated that I am known to & regarded by all the govts. with whom we have relations—that I am personally on a good footing with them, & that if any thing can be gained by conciliation, it furnishes the prospect of gaining it. The late treaty with France (Louisiana) may be urged as a proof of it with the principal power. In this paper a modest, but nevertheless the most confident tone shod. be taken. The attack on me grows out of this paper, & then I am to be defended anonymously against the attack in which the whole mass of my services may be brought to bear in my favor. The injustice of making up an issue on that point alone may be shown, especially as the business had not been continued in my hands alone; the purpose to which that issue is intended to be made subservient, &c. who are the men who make up the issue, Wilson Nicholas &c. Do not these men acknowledge the merit of my services in my late mission to France? Did they not consider the destiny of their country as being involved in that mission, & did it not succeed beyond their most sanguine expectation? Do they not acknowledge the merit of my service, to my country & the cause on my former mission to France, & in my firm appeal to the publick on my return home, &

afterwards in the Executive of Virg[a]. &c &c.? Are these the men then who losing sight of all these services, are desirous to call the publick attention to one transaction alone, acknowledged by the President, & by all other men to have been free from blame, to have been dictated by pure honorable & patriotick motives, in the hope, by artful insinuations to fix a reproach on me, & thereby accomplish a particular object? It might be stated that in this transaction I gave proofs of patriotism, disinterestedness, & attachment to the adm[n]. the most strong & conclusive: that after the charge of the British ministry, as my standing with Fox & his associates was good, & I had a fair prospect of adjusting the business with him, it was to be presumed that the special mission (w[h]. was not special as to me, I being there, & having neither add[l]. rank or pay, & the business thereby partly taken out of my hands) could not otherwise than hurt my feelings: that I did not act on that motive, but labourd as cordially as if I had been the sole agent to advance the interest of the publick & the credit of the adm[n]. &c. that it was fairly to be presumed that the delay which was occasioned

[Part of the MS. is missing.]

tho the purity of the motive is acknowledged by the appointment of the special mission, lost us the life of Fox, and was the lone cause why a more advantageous treaty was not obtain'd; that it is unjust (admiting that the treaty was as objectionable as some people state) to impute any blame either to me or M[r]. P., who did their duty: that it appears by my correspondence that I had demanded better terms of Fox & had a prospect of obtaining them in the course of my negotiation with him: that under such circumstances any defects in the treaty ought not to be imputed to me &c. This part of the subject, if on mature reflection it is thought proper to touch it, ought to be treated with extreme delicacy, and the character of vindication rather than accusation distinctly preserved. It may be added to preserve that character & treaty that my fortune has been peculiarly hard—that I have twice been employed in foreign missions of great importance to my country, & twice criminated & put to the necessity of vindicating myself: that in the first case I was intentionally & professedly degraded; that between it & the second there are some shades of difference, not very strongly marked, since in the latter the character of denunciation still exists, & I am also put to my defence.

In this mode almost every thing may be said, that might be in the case of an attack, yet it is free from the objections to it. I own that I wish the whole discussion to assume a love of moderation (sho[d]. a discussion take place) that in speaking of any supposed error of the adm[n]. such as the embargo, it be not done in a spirit of exultation but of regret, & that the utmost delicacy be observed towards the President more especially: that it be said that the highest respect & regard for him have strongly marked my character & conduct thro' life & still influence it: that it [is] understood that the most perfect relations of friendship subsist between us:

It will doubtless be proper to deny that the treaty merits the charges alledged agnst it: to affirm on the contrary that altho' it did not obtain every thing which the U States might reasonably have expected, it was one however which secur'd the publick honor, & would have eminently advancd the interest of the country—that it was a fact that in many very important points it improved & very essentially the treaty of 1794, tho' made under circumstances more disadvantageous, while it

was less favorable in one single point only, the East India trade, & in a very slight degree in that, & that difference consisting in a mistake not the intention of the parties, as is shewn by our letter of Jan^{y}. 3. 1807—that the interest of impressment was not unprovided for, since our right was acknowledged, & a new negotiation to be opened for the security of it, &c, as in my letter or so much of it as is tho^{t}. proper (the shorter the better)—that the trade with enemies colonies was not liable to the objection stated as was proved by my letter to M^{r}. Madison, & acknowledged now by all sensible & impartial men—that on the contrary the article plac'd it on the most advantageous footing possible, as it seemed to the U States the complete monop[ol]y of the trade between the Colonies of France, Sp^{n}. Holland &c., & their parent countries, thro the U States; a trade more important in point of value than everything w^{h}. G. B. obtained by the treaty; a trade which bro^{t}. thro' the U States at least 42 millions of value in colony productions, & authorised the supply of the colonies with those of the parent country—which employed, to vast am^{t}. the shipping, the seamen, & the capital of our country—that it had fixd the direct intercourse between the U States & G. B. on terms highly favorable to our navigation & productions—had extended our territorial jurisdiction 2. miles on the coast, w^{h}. operated as a censure, inflicted in the most solemn manner & strongest terms on the authors of past outrages, and a security agnst the like in future—that it did not abandon the right of indemnity for spoliations, but made it secure had the treaty been ratified, as judicial proceedings had been suspended, & it was distinctly understood by the Com^{rs}. that no other condemnations wo^{d}. be made—this suspension had taken place on the remonstrances of M^{r}. Monroe, & was continued afterwards—see the letter of Com^{rs}. to Lord Howick, with one to Lords Holland & Auckland alluded to in it, on that subject—that the clamour agnst the British papers is groundless and absurd—that it was merely a measure of precaution in the British Com^{rs}. & existing ministry, to justify their signature of the treaty in face of the French decree of Nov^{r}. 21.—that it imposed on the U States no kind of obligation whatever; it did not bind them to resist the French decree, or do any other act; had the treaty been ratified, & G. B. violated it on any pretext whatever, the U States would have stood in the same relation with her that they stood before; they would have had the same right to resist that violation, & they would have done it with more effect after such a violation (unless our conduct had been highly and indisputably culpable) than they would any aggression which sho^{d}. not be prohibited by treaty. To take alarm at such a reservation of right, is a circumstance not easily explained or accounted for. I really see no cause of offence in it, nor can it be deemed one to an independant & equal power. A nation which estimates in a suitable manner its own dignity & consequence, will never be afraid or apprehensive that any other power will do it an act of injustice or outrage. It will always presume that the means which it has to obtain reparation, will prove a sufficient check to such conduct. These are however reflections which will readily occur to you, & on which I have already too much enlarged.

If this subject is taken up (I mean the address &c.) I wish it to be done in the most cautious & guarded manner, at the same time with a confidence w^{h}. may be calculated to inspire it in others. In doing justice to me either with respect to the opposite character, or charges alledged agnst me, equal moderation & firmness will be necessary. The publick, that is, that part of them on w^{h}. he and I equally rely,

altho' they may take an interest in the advanc'ment of one in preference to the other will take none in the oppression or degradation of the latter. The friends of both after the excitment of the moment has passed, will regret any circumstance that may have had such a tendency. They will particularly deplore (I speak here of mine only) any improper act, or insinuation which may be found to operate injuriously, and unjustly on the person at this time at the head of the government who will always be acknowledged to have great claim on the country.

[The remainder of the MS. is missing.]

To ———.

TENESSEE JULY 20, 1808

DEAR SIR

Having nothing to do but ruminate on the topicks alluded to in my late letters, is the cause of much trouble to you & certain friends with whom you will communicate at Richmond. I thought that my letter of yesterday would be the last that I sho[d]. write you on this side of Kentuckey—but there is one point, on which I may not have been clearly understood in that & the other letters on which I wish more fully to explain myself. It relates to the treaty & involves the question whether it is proper for my friends to enter fully into that subject, first to place its merits in their true light & secondly to shew that it wo[d]. have been happier for the country had it been ratified. You may have inferrd by what I have written that it is my decided opinion that that should be done. My object however has been to submit that and every other question to my friends, who will be much better able to decide on it, than I can possibly be here. In the case that that sho[d]. be done, or that occasional hints sho[d]. be thrown out to that effect, I have endeavourd to suggest such ideas as have occurr'd to me on it. The question is a very important one, & ought to be weighd with the most profound attention before it is decided either way. Nicholas's paper invites it, & his connection with some of the parties (in this case I do not include the Presid[t]., but suspect he knows nothing of the measure) induces a belief that it was a systematick operation. It is a question of policy simply, & ought to be done, that is the investigation enterd into, or declind, or at least postponed, as either course promises to be most advantageous. The motive on their part must be either, a desire to stir that question for the purpose of bringing the popularity of the President to bear against me, & other circumstances that might grow out of the discussion being inseparable from it, or a belief that in the present course the adm[n]. itself is losing ground, & that every possible effort is necessary to save it. I rather think that the first is the object of the party. It is possible that they may suspect that in the present train there is more danger than was apprehended—that is, that by standing distinct from the adm[n]. as I do by means of my action[?], & in a situation to be so consider'd by the nation, the popularity of the President, is by his explanations &c. less turned agnst me than is desired. It is possible that this attack of Nicholas may be intended to invite a discussion for the purpose of provoking such a reply as may be consider'd an attack on the President, & by that means put me in a kind of general hostility with him & the adm[n].—It may also be a part of the plan to connect me more immediately

with the federalists than I have been or ought to be, and likewise with the minority. At present I stand free from everything of the kind; independant of every party, & resting on my own character & conduct. The object of the other party is to combine the great body of the republicans in its favor, & certainly nothing could tend more to accomplish it, than by connecting me with the federalists & the minority, which wo[d]. be likely to result from an attack on the adm[n]., or any of its measures. That such advantage would be drawn, if the opportunity was afforded cannot be doubted—the question therefore is, whether more would be gaind by such a discussion, meeting & defying all the consequences, than lost, & that is the question on which I wish you & my other friends to decide. If you sho[d]. be of opinion that such a discussion ought not to be entered into, especially at this time, it merits consideration whether some credit ought not to be claimed from waving it. Nicholas's essay might be scouted anonymously as poor in stile and argument—totally destitute of pretention in the latter—as of incendiary tendency, intended to revive in an odious manner animosities between republicans—that I had given a proof by my letter of 28. Feby. of a disposition not to investigate or discuss the policy of the course taken by the gov[t]. (contenting myself with explaining & putting the treaty in a just light only) & to support the gov[t]. in the course it had taken, to extricate it & the country from trouble. That my friends had acted on the same principle &c.—that that question seemed to be at repose—that the President did not impute to me improper motives or censure my conduct—nor indeed could he—it was beyond censure—Why then does M[r]. Nicholas attempt it then? Does he want an appeal to be made to the nation by an adversary discussion on that subject? Is not union more important to the publick welfare & success of the republican cause? Does the President require the aid of his puissant arm to protect him? Is it an electioneering trick? He is well known in that character. The publick cause however will be better taken care of by more virtuous men. By an address to the people in the sentiments heretofore expressed, the publication of the letter of Col: Mercer & the documents alluded to, high ground will be taken, from which a view afforded of what it will be best to do in other cases. I add these to the hints which I have already sent you. I am confident that nothing will be done without a consultation among my friends on every point, & due consideration of the advantages & disadvantages likely to result from any step that may be taken. I repeat that the above, as is every thing that I have written, are intended only for consideration, as I really wish my friends to act as they think fit, taking care to let it be distinctly understood, that as independent men they act that part.

To George Hay

Albemarle June 8[th] 1809

My dear Sir

We arrived here on sunday early in the day, from M[rs]. Paine's where we lodged the 2[d]. night. Our furniture is rec[d]. almost without injury, to any article. In a day or two it will be arranged, after w[h]. I will write you on other subjects—the object of this is to apprize you & our daughter of our safe arrival, in good health.

The more I have reflected on the late motion in Congress the more I have

doubted its propriety in relation to its presumed object. The conduct of the President in the late arrangement with G. B., is approved by it, for its promptitude & frankness. The expression of approbation is clear and explicit. The precise term is used, & those which are adapted to characterize the conduct alluded to are equally strong. *Frankness* is a virtue in publick as well as in private life, & coupled with *promptitude* give *it* an import not less decisive. I do not think that the conduct of the govt. merits such applause from any one, especially those who have disapproved it heretofore. We well know that the promptitude shewn on the late occasion was the effect of a necessity which grew out of measures which left the govt. no alternative. If the true character of the whole transaction, that is, of all the measures connected with the late one, is looked into, I see no merit in the avidity with wh. the proposition was signed. I consider it a new proof of the impolicy of those measures, which should confirm those heretofore opposed to them in an opinion of the wisdom of their opposition. I wod. never approve, where I saw no just cause for it, in an uniform course of policy in the same transaction. If a publick character has done wrong & thereby hasarded himself as well as the nation, I wod. be a spectator of the charge, & if called on to act, wod. look to the whole subject & not a part of it. It seems to me that a vote of approbation of any one act is an awkward way to open the door to censure another. I rather think it must shut it against further inquiry. It seems to me to be impossible to discriminate between the present & late admn. in the business referr'd to. It is well however that the present one had as much to do in all that business as the late one, & no one can doubt that the ch: magistrate who signed the new intercourse law, had he remained in office, wod. have acceded to the late arrangement with as much *promptitude* & *frankness* as his successor. That the federalists shod. endeavor to discriminate between the present & late men does not surprise me, because they wod. readily make a bargain with the latter to cast a shade over what had passed as to them, for any suitable equivalent. They wod. be glad to fix the whole blame on the preceding admn., if it might tend to separate the present one from it, & draw the present one more towards themselves. But how can any portion of the republicans pursue with propriety such a policy? They have nothing to ask or expect from the present admn., more than the former. All they could want of either is that it wod. adhere to & support the republican cause. Seeing no motive to discriminate between them, in the transactions alluded to, I wod. attach myself to neither in any form whatever. Had the particular friends of the present men made such a motion I wod. have voted against it. I wod. have given the same vote had the proposition come from any other quarter. The motion has given the present admn. a distinguished opportunity to shew its respect for the late one, in rejecting *praise* when offer'd by its opponents in a manner to censure the late one. The obvious tendency of the motion is to keep together the late and the present men, by admonishing them to forgive and forget any irritating circumstances if such have occurr'd, as the surest means of this common preservation, while it will probably exhibit to view concert of measures in the republican minority & the federalists, between whom there is the greatest variance in principle. This latter circumstance (the concert) will in itself contribute essentially to cement that union, or rather to prevent a division, while it may injure the republican minority in the good opinion of the great mass of the

republicans. It is not probable that a division will take place between the late & present incumbent, there being so many strong motives with each against it. If it were possible, it could be done only by the federalists succeeding in drawing the latter into their party, to which he once belonged, & between whom there is some affinity in certain political opinions. As the hostility is extreme between the late President & the federalists, he wo^{d}. have much sensibility to any approximation between his successor & them. It was evidently a maxim of policy in the late one to keep alive the federal party, & as I presume to keep alive, in the *spirit of party*, the republican one. As he was supported by the latter, and it necessarily gained strength daily, it was the easiest way to preserve his own ascendency in publick affairs, & in his opinion I presume the cause. By keeping alive the spirit of party, much injury is unavoidably as I am sure done to principle, as the members are forc'd to cling together & follow their leader, who thereby gains a vast ascendency over them. The federalists therefore hate him implacably, & he is not behind them in that feeling. Had the federalists brought forward that motion, & the minority been silent in the debate, a fair experiment wo^{d}. have been made of the disposition of the adm^{n}. to receive support from the federal party. It never stood very high, I mean the actual man, with the most staunch republicans, till the rejection of the treaty & subsequent measures. It is that circumstance & his close union with the other, that mounted him on their shoulders, where he still sticks, tho without enjoying in any high degree their confidence. His own strength is not great; it is made so by artificial causes, among which none has been more powerful in a thousand ways, & to a complete counteraction of its own views, than the policy w^{h}. has been pursued by the republican minority. Had the proposition been brought forward by any party whatever, & the republican minority opposed it, on the considerations above stated, it must have gaind credit, & promoted its presumed objects. Had I been a member of the Congress, I sho^{d}. certainly voted against such a proposition, let it come from what quarter it might. I sho^{d}. have been against a discrimination between the two adm^{ns}. because I co^{d}. see no reason for it, believing that both stood on the same ground & that neither merited praise. But by bringing forward the proposition, the republican minority appears to me to have compromitted itself, to have formed a hard cement between the late & the present man, & to have put at a greater distance the latter & his quondam friends the federalists. Had I paid either a compliment at the expence of the other the preference wo^{d}. have been to the late one as sounder in principle & "hors de combat."

I had my doubts whether it would be strictly proper for you & our daughter to use harness w^{h}. had the initials of my name. It was on that ground that I thought it wo^{d}. be more agreeable to take the new harness. If you prefer the latter be so good as to request M^{r}. Sheppard, to inform M^{r}. Graham to whom I owe 79. doll^{s}., & to the payment of which I had appropriated a part of what might be rec^{d}. from the sale, that I will pay him almost as soon from other funds. Had I been able to pay M^{r}. Graham's agent before I left town the affair wo^{d}. have been arranged in that manner. The point of delicacy being settled with M^{r}. Graham I wish Eliza to take the new harness if she prefers them. If she is perfectly satisfied with the old, & they are found to be really good, then let Sheppard sell the new & apply the money as directed. Whatever the decision is, the agent of Graham

sho[d]. be advised of it immediately, as that I had intended to pay him by other funds immediately, when I suspended the order for the sale, if such has been the case. I beg Eliza to consult nothing in this case but her own sentiments of propriety, & wishes, as the sum is no object to me, compar'd with the desire of accomodating her. She will recollect that there are none such in this country, & perhaps will not be for a long time hereafter. In case she takes them tell Sheppard that I will settle his acc[t]. when I come down.

Send me the decree of the court as soon as the court rises. Tell Eliza that her mother will write her as soon as she has a moment of leisure.

The political remarks above which are written in haste, may be incorrect. I hope they are. They are for yourself only. Maria renders great service in arranging all things. Our affectionate regards attend you, Eliza & your children.

your friend

Jas. Monroe

To Sir Francis Baring

Albermarle (Virginia), 15. Oct[r]. 1809

My dear Sir

I have long reproached myself for not writing you since my return to the U States, feeling sensibly the great obligation which you conferr'd on me while I resided in England, & having a strong desire to communicate with you with the same freedom I then did, on topicks of a general nature, in which we cannot cease to take a deep interest. But many considerations have prevented it, which I flatter myself you have anticipated. The peculiarity of my own situation has suggested the propriety of great caution in treating on publick affairs, & my inability to meet the just claim which you have on me, with that promptitude which my sensibility to a generous & friendly act dictates, has made that necessary part of any communication an anxious one to me. I cannot however permit the present excellent opportunity to escape without availing myself of it, to say something to you on those points which lie within the fair limit of a friendly private correspondence.

It is a singular incident in my political life, a reflection w[h]. occurs to me in writing to you, that I have twice left Europe after holding very important trusts from my country, & been forc'd on my return, by the state of publick affairs & my relation to them, to guard myself by a circumspect conduct, against the most illiberal imputations. When I returned from France in 1797, when I had served three years, at a period the most extraordinary which has occurr'd in modern times, & under circumstances which made it extremely difficult to preserve the relations of friendship between the U States & the then gov[t]. of France, I found myself in that state. I was then charged with entertaining a partiality for that nation to the prejudice of my own. In returning from England in 1807, I have shar'd in a certain degree the same fate. It has been inferr'd, since the rejection of the treaty, that I had become partial to England in a like exceptionable degree. The gov[t]. & more enlightened citizens of France who had witnessed my exertions to promote the interest & support the rights of my country, were astonished to hear that such a charge had been alledged against me, and I have little doubt if a like appeal was

made to similar persons in England, passing thro the several admns. which existed while I was there, that the same sentiment would be expressed by them. No one better knows than you do what my conduct was in the difficult mission with which I was intrusted to your govt., & I think you saw in it nothing which ought to have exposed me to censure, or lessen me in the good opinion of my fellow citizens. It is a justice due to the admn. to observe that no charge was alledged against me by it.

I am now withdrawn altogether from publick life, & may remain so for years if not for ever. On my return to the U States I saw distinctly that there was not the most distant probability that I shod. be called to the head of the government. Still it was thought improper by my friends, for many reasons which I cannot now enter fully into, to withdraw me from the competition. The present gentleman & I being of the same party, it was known that as soon as it should be clearly perceived, that either had the fairest prospect of success, every vote of the party would be given to him. Thus the republican cause was exposed to no danger by keeping me in the nomination, & it seemed most consistent with principle so to do, as it offered an alternative to the people, within the same party, and it likewise comported more with the integrity & independence of my own character, in regard to what had passed, as it invited no compromise on my part which might be imputed to dishonorable motives. The result proved to be what I had forseen, & the course which has been since pursued by the person elected, has corresponded with that which would have been pursued by most persous in that station under similar circumstances. Few men would invite to a suitable station under him, the person, who had been thought by many for the primary one. It was more presumable that much care would be taken to preserve the ascendency which had been already gained. On my part I have no disposition to trouble those in power. I did nothing to promote my own election, & had publick affairs taken such a course as to have allowed me an honorable alternative, I do not think that my name would have been seen in the nomination. But you know that when a man is conscious of his integrity, & equally so that he has rendered useful [service ?] finds that some question is made of the propriety of his conduct, he feels that he can shrink from no scrutiny which circumstances invite without dishonor, and no scrutiny could be more severe than that wh. was invited by the competition by the competition [*sic*] for the govt. I am at present not only contented with my retirement but desirous of remaining in it. I think I shall enjoy more happiness in a private station than ever fell to my lot in a publick one. I shall certainly have it more in my power to attend to my own concerns, to improve my estate, to fulfill my engagements, & otherwise advance the welfare of my family.

You will take an interest in certain family details. Our eldest daughter has formed a connection since our return, much to our satisfaction, & with the fairest prospect of happiness to herself. Mr. Hay, her husband, enjoys great consideration in the State for talent, integrity, & honor, & possesses the most amiable qualifications for domestick life. He is the attorney general of the U. States for this State, in which character, with the aid of two other gentlemen who were associated with him, he conducted the late prosecution against Mr. Burr. You will have acquir'd some knowledge of him from the details that were published at that trial. Our other daughter who is very young, & whose education forms the principal occupa-

tion of her mother, promises, as she grows up, to afford us all the delight which parents can expect from a fine child. We live in a county, whose name is prefixed to this, on a branch of James river, 80 miles from Richmond the first elevated country above the falls. The late President is my nearest neighbor. Our estates join. My estate is a good one.* Its improvement, on a moderate scale, now engages my attention, and promises to form one of the most interesting occupations of my retirement. I have other property of some value in this State, & some in the State of Kentuckey.

I consider my whole property bound to answer the sum which you were so kind as to advance me, in aid of the publick salary, to defray my expenses in my late missions. But if I am forc'd to raise it by sales, the weight would fall heavy on me in the present circumstances of this country, or in any other that we are likely soon to experience. Indeed the vast accession of territory to the westward by the purchase of Louisiana, offers such an inducement to emigration thither, that it has become difficult to sell a landed estate here on anything like fair terms, and quite impossible on long credits & the payment by instalments. I wish to avoid the necessity of making a sacrifice so injurious to my family, if† to be done. If to be done, [*sic*] under good managmt. etc.

I must now be permitted to ask after & to express my earnest hope that you have been blessed with good health. I must also make some enquery relative to your family. Your son Alexander continues to keep his seat in the parliament as I see by the papers. I read a pamphlet of his on affairs with great satisfaction, as I saw in it a strong proof of that extensive information & sound judgment which I knew him to possess. We take great interest in the welfare of him & his most amiable & promising family, & hope that they enjoy good health; a sentiment we beg to extend to all your children.

This communication you will consider as being in confidence, with the exception of a right to impart it to your son Alexander, to whom I ought to write but shall not be able by this opportunity. I shall seize some other favorable one hereafter. It is possible I may write to some other friends by the present one, but in case I shod. not will you have the goodness to present my best regards to our estimable friend Mr. Hope, & if you see him to Sir Ch: Blagden. I beg you to accept the assurance of my constant & affectionate regard.

Jas Monroe.

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* The following has been stricken through:

consisting of about 3000 acres of excellent land, & between 30 & 40 [*interlineation*: "a sufficient number of"] slaves. But I have much to do to make my residence a comfortable one. It is an estate which I purchased many years since, by the sale of a patrimonial one on the Potomack, and which my continued employment since in the publick service, a great portion of the time abroad, has rendered it impossible for me to improve.

† The following has been stricken through:

any honorable means can be adopted to prevent it. Completely retir'd as I am from publick life, the door to honest exertion is as open to me as to any of my fellow citizens, and it is my duty to take advantage of it, & it would be a proof of a mistaken sentiment of delicacy [*interlineation*: a sentiment of delicacy which restrained me while in the [*sic*] & it could apply to that state only] if I did not avail myself of any suitable opportunity which might offer for the purpose.) The respectable gentlemen who will present you this, Mr. McRae & Major Clarke, my good friends; the former of whom was long a

member of the council of State and Leut. Govr. of this Commonwealth, & the latter the superintendent of a publick manufactory of arms, have offer'd to associate me in an enterprise of theirs, which while it does honor to their patriotism, promises to be vastly profitable in respect to the interest already acquir'd, & equally so in the prosecution of the undertaking, should they be able to prosecute it in the scale proposed. As a property to be applied to the ordinary purposes only of which it is susceptible, & connected only with the ordinary growth & calls of the country I know of none likely to rise so rapidly in its value. As the foundation of an institution, embracing certain objects on the scale proposed, & to be immediately set in motion, I know of none which possesses so many advantages, or any of those more essential to success, in an equal degree, and of course none which promises, in the promotion of the plan, so certain & so great a profit to those engaged in it. These gentlemen will explain themselves fully to you on this subject, & take such advice as you may find yourself at liberty, with the most perfect propriety, to give them. I shall accept their proposal from a belief that it is highly expedient to promote the objects of the institution, & in full confidence that if it succeeds I shall soon find the means of meeting, with perfect convenience, all my engagements. These gentlemen are highly respectable for their known integrity, their judgment & prudence, and for their honor. Permit me to request your kind attention to them. Another mode has occurr'd in which I am persuaded that my exertions & experience might be employed with great advantage to myself & such friends as might be disposed to join me in it. Acquisitions of lands might be made within the U States on very advantageous terms in parts to which the population of the country is directing itself, the value of which might be much & soon advanced by due attention to certain circumstances which it might be easy to take advantage of. The territory lying between the waters of the Mobile & the Tenissee, and certain positions on the mississippi have occurr'd to me in making this remark. Lands might be obtained there at a low price, which could not fail to rise rapidly in value. In pursuit of such an object I would pass thro' the whole of that country, and indeed any other which offer'd a suitable inducement, & beyond the mississippi. If you are disposed to embark in such an object I would unite with you in it, on your own terms. It shod. be executed on any scale great or small which you preferred, & you may be assured that not a single acre shod. be bought or expence incurr'd without the greatest possible certainty of early advantage. The execution of this plan would not in the slightest degree interfere with that above suggested. My sole object in either is, to provide by my own exertions, directed to fast & honorable ends, the means of discharging without injury to my fortune the debts which I incurr'd in the publick service. My own credit is good, which shod. be taken advantage of, tho' I shod. rely on you for the funds in the principal degree.

It is however far from being my desire that you should take any part in any object of the kind, in which you do not find an immediate interest. Having experienc'd great proof of your kindness & friendship I have no idea of imposing on you an additional burden. If my two friends succeed in their object, in which they cannot fail if they meet with any encouragment abroad, I shall soon find myself at ease. In pursuit of their plan, they intend to visit the continent, particularly Holland, some parts of Germany & France. Shod. the whole fail, I shall then hasten to sell so much of my property as will cover your claim, unless indeed I may succeed in making such crops as will enable me to remit to your house annually a sum which will be satisfactory. I am at this time making great exertions to increase the product of my estate with that view, but my hope of success to a suitable extent, is not sanguine, especially in the present unsettled state of affairs.

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